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State will sanction any increase of its military and naval expenditure beyond the maximum of the estimates of the present year."

This action was the outcome of a discussion which was then in activity throughout Europe, concerning the steady and alarming growth of armaments, and expressed both the alarm occasioned by that growth, and the desire to check it in time.

Owing to political changes and exigencies, no opportunity was found of presenting that Memorial (which represented altogether over 165,000 persons) and meanwhile the anxieties and fears, and even the prudence, which made so many concur in it, and in the discussions from which it arose, have apparently died away.

For, the naval estimates which are now under discussion reveal a sudden and unprecedented development of what Mr. Gladstone recently called "the monstrous and barbarous militarism", in regard to which England has to bear no small share of responsibility."

Evidence of this responsibility lies in the fact that on every occasion of fresh expenditure by this country, the military burdens of all our neighbors have been at once made appreciably heavier. What these mean the following figures will show:

In the interval between 1869 and 1892 the annual cost of the armies and navies of Europe rose from £116,732,583 to £203,050,000, and, since then, to over £230,000,000. In 1872 the national debts of Europe, which are almost entirely the results of militarism, had reached the bewildering sum of £4,689,014,000, whereas now they have risen to over £6,000,000,000, and are still increasing, so that the period is rapidly approaching, anticipated by M. Gambetta, when not only Frenchmen, but the whole of Europe, will all be "beggars in front of a barrack."

These enormous expenditures leave the nations engaged in this "mad rivalry" in relatively the same position as before, while each involves a permanent addition to the annual expenditure.

Our naval estimates for the present year amount to the unparalleled sum of nearly 22 millions of pounds, which is £4,456,900 more than the expenditure of the last year, 1894-5. In 1881, the Navy Vote was £10,511,840; in 1891, £14,125,358, with an additional £1,428,571 for naval defences; in 1895, £17,544,000; and in 1896, £21,823,000. It will thus be seen that in fifteen years the annual naval expenditure, besides the special vote of £1,428,000, which went on for several years, has more than doubled.

In addition to this, a special expenditure has been determined upon for ship-building and naval works of £17,450,000.

Exclusive of this, however, the total expenditure on the Army and Navy, which in 1881 was £25,784,000, is, as stated recently in the House of Commons, over 41 million pounds, which, together with the 24 millions for the National Debt, reaches the enormous and unprecedented total of 64 millions.

Nothing has occurred during the year to necessitate this enormous outlay, and what is most noteworthy is that this expenditure is discussed with scarcely a word of regret that such an outlay is believed to be necessary.

If it were indeed essential, it is not the less a discredit to our international relations that it should be necessary. But no necessity is suggested. It is simply the inevitable result, the direct and natural evolution, of that process of growth which has been going on for years, and is accepted as a matter of course.

This Society, however, looks upon the military spirit and the military preparation and defences of a nation at its weakness rather than its strength, and considers all increase of military establishments as tending rather to augment the probabilities of war than to diminish them. But however this may be, the immediate and inevitable results of this continuous development of military preparations must be disastrous. It is a menace to the liberties of a country. It multiplies the elements which produce the miseries and wretchedness of society. It misapplies, and so wastes, the wealth of a nation, which is imperatively required for the comfort and even the sustenance of its enormous populations. It demoralizes the character of a nation, and fosters the habit of looking upon brute force as the final law of society, thus instilling a doubt as to the supremacy and sufficiency of moral forces. The very religious spirit and character of the nation are necessarily injuriously affected by such developments, a fact which is evidenced by the very silence with which they are received, and by the tone of the discussions by which they are promoted. Reliance on the right arm of force is inconsistent with clear perception of, to say nothing of faith in, anything higher.

How long are these things, which are a travesty and contradiction of the religion we profess, and which contravene all the principles of economic policy, to continue unchecked and without protest?

The present, when the tendency to mutual distrust and menace has greatly increased, offers a singular opportunity for this nation, foremost among the civilized nations of the world, to lead the way into a more rational system of international intercourse, and, at the very zenith of its power, to begin by reversing this mistaken and fatal policy of nations, so as to promote and to secure peace by preparing for peace, by exhibiting to the world the illustrious example of a simple reliance in the practice of universal justice and obedience to the Christian law of universal love, to the entire exclusion of all dependence upon brute force in the relations existing between itself and the other nations of the earth, and by promoting the adoption of a legalized system of Arbitration, which would render War, in time to come, all but impossible.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

In order to make room for a part of the stenographic report of the Washington Conference, which we shall complete in the June number, we have been compelled to add eight extra pages to this issue of the *ADVOCATE*, which we hope may prove to all our readers a thoroughly interesting and instructive paper.

The International Peace Congress and the Interparliamentary Peace Conference will both meet this year at Buda-Pesth, Hungary, about the middle of September. The Congress will meet immediately before the Conference. The date will be announced in time, and also the best route to take from this country. There ought to be a large delegation this year from the United States, considering the unusual interest recently awakened in the subject of arbitration and peace. If any of the members or friends of the American Peace Society intend to be in

Europe at that date, we shall be glad if they will communicate with us as early as convenient.

The convention for a commission to assess the damages due to the Canadian sealers under the Behring Sea award, prepared by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, came before the Senate on the 15th of April and was ratified after about half an hour's consideration. The convention provides for the appointment of two commissioners, one by each of the countries, to assess the damages. If they can not agree, the President of the Swiss Republic is to name a third. The meetings of the Commissioners will be at Vancouver and San Francisco. The State Department has been very anxious to have this convention ratified without delay. The prompt and unanimous action of the Senate in doing so ought to remove all suspicion that the United States has meant to trifle with the matter or to refuse to pay all that ought to be paid when properly determined.

The President has issued his annual proclamation warning sealers not to ply their vocation in Behring Sea during the close season from May 1st to August 1st.

The New York State Bar Association has recently taken up the subject of an international tribunal of arbitration. At its last meeting, at Albany April 16, it adopted a memorial including an outline of a plan for a tribunal, which was presented by a delegation of its members to President Cleveland on the 21st ult. The President received the delegation with great cordiality, listened attentively to what they had to say, and entered into half an hour's conversation with them in order to inform himself more perfectly about the plan proposed by them,—a plan not differing materially from those drawn up by Leone Levi, Sir Edmond Hornby and one or two other European jurists.

"Always Arbitrate before You Fight" is the title of a 72 page penny pamphlet prepared and published by W. T. Stead, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*. The pamphlet grew out of the recent Venezuela excitement and is a strong plea for permanent arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. It contains a large amount of information touching what has been done in behalf of such a permanent system of arbitration, the arbitrations to which Great Britain has been a party, the opinions of eminent men on the subject, etc., etc.

The Woman's International Peace Union has sent to Mrs. Mary Frost Ormsby, President of the American Branch, a memorial, to be presented to Congress, in behalf of the proposed permanent tribunal of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. It is signed on behalf of the Leagues of Women in Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and the United States.

Five of the leaders of the Johannesburg Conspiracy for the "reform" of the Transvaal Republic have been found guilty of treason and condemned to death. Severe sentences have been passed on others implicated. One of the five leaders, John Hays Hammond, is an American Mining Engineer. The sentence has created considerable excitement in England. The general belief is that the sentence of death will not be executed but commuted. Secretary Olney has given careful attention to the case of Mr. Hammond. A petition asking President Krüger for clemency toward him has been generally signed by members of Congress and forwarded to the Transvaal. The trial of Dr. Jameson and his fellow raiders is now going on in the Bow Street police court in London.

Negotiations for the settlement of the Venezuela boundary dispute are said to be progressing slowly. Mr. Smalley has sent a dispatch to the *London Times* taking a gloomy view of the matter, but he probably manufactured the gloom in his own imagination, as he knows no more about the matter than the rest of us. The Venezuela Commission are delayed in their investigations by the slowness of the Venezuela agents in furnishing documents from the Spanish archives. New material is constantly coming into the hands of the Commission. Documents from the Dutch archives are said to favor England's claim.

In spite of various petitions and memorials against the measure, and in spite of the plainest dictates of American common sense, the bill which provides for the detail of fifty officers and fifty non-commissioned officers to give instruction in military tactics in normal and public schools, when authorized by those in charge of such schools, has been favorably reported by the House Military Committee. If Congress should enact the bill into law, this will prove another serious step in the process of militarizing our country after the detestable European pattern.

Hon. Carlos M. Stone, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Cleveland, Ohio, delivered an able plea for a permanent International Court of Arbitration before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, on March 17. The address has since been printed in pamphlet form.

The recent death of J. E. Farwell has removed one of the oldest and truest friends of the American Peace Society as well as of many other good causes. He had been the Society's printer for over thirty years and for twenty-one years a member of the Board of Directors. He was deeply interested in its work and, when his funds permitted it, a generous contributor to its support. At one time in the sixties when the Society was in financial straits he generously cancelled a bill of over one thousand dollars. In his business relations Mr. Farwell was always kind and considerate and thoroughly intent on doing what was fair and just toward his workmen; he was not only just

but generous, and would suffer loss himself rather than reduce wages or suffer his employes to go unpaid. In the days before the war Mr. Farwell was somewhat prominent in State politics, representing Boston in the Legislature; and before the great fire, by which he was a heavy loser, he was one of the largest printers of Boston. We are grieved to have to chronicle his departure, for he was a genuine friend of man and of the good of society.

In August, 1878, the elder William Lloyd Garrison, in reply to an invitation to attend the Annual Grove Peace Meeting at Mystic, Conn., wrote the following letter which will interest our readers at the present time. We are indebted for it to Mrs. Ida Whipple Benham:

BOSTON, August 19, 1878.

DEAR FRIEND:—For the cordial invitation extended to me to attend the Annual Grove Meeting to be held in Mystic on the 22d and 23d inst., for the promotion of peace on earth and good-will to all mankind, I beg you to accept my sincere thanks. If my presence would afford any pleasure to the estimable friends and advocates of THE GOOD CAUSE who will convene on the occasion, I am sure that I should feel both cheered and quickened by seeing them face to face. But there are reasons for my non-attendance, which it is unnecessary here to specify; and I must be content to send you this brief epistle, to indicate that no change has taken place in the radical views I long since promulgated on the subject of peace, and to renew my testimony against all war, consequently, all preparations for war. The object aimed at is specially dear to my heart, and I have an unflinching trust in the ultimate accomplishment of that sublime prediction "when nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." That period, beyond doubt, is in the far distant future; but, however remote it may be, it furnishes the most powerful incentives to labor earnestly and uncompromisingly for its arrival as the highest reach of civilization, and the crowning event of the world's progress. Let us not be discouraged that wars and rumors of war still continue to distract and curse the earth; but let us hail every sign of advancement toward universal amity, whether shown in the extension of popular education, in the growing spirit of international fraternity, in the waning power of governmental despotism, in the increasing recognition of the right of every human being to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," or in the increasing disposition to settle all international disputes by peaceful arbitration.

I trust a strong testimony will be borne, by the convocation at Mystic, against the bloody hunting down of the Indian tribes in the far West, now going on, by the United States troops; for the wrong-doing is wholly on the side of the American Government, which has never yet kept faith with the Red men, but has perfidiously violated every treaty made with them, robbing them of their lands, defrauding them of their dues, reducing them to the verge of starvation by withholding promised amnesties and supplies, and giving them over to extermination.

Yours, with much esteem,

ZERAH C. WHIPPLE.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Albert K. Smiley has issued invitations for the second annual international arbitration conference at

Lake Mohonk, N. Y. The conference is to be held on the 3d, 4th and 5th of June. Last year's conference, the first of the series, was an able and successful gathering, and the approaching one gives promise of being much more so, a much larger number having already accepted invitation to be present.

Cardinal Rampolla, papal secretary of state, has sent the following to the London *Chronicle*:

"Among the most precious gifts the Divine Redeemer bestowed upon the world was that of peace, and no better desire can exist than that peace should reign on earth. Justly, therefore, the sovereign pontiff, as vicar of the Eternal Prince of Peace, desires and co-operates with every effort toward the maintenance of concord and union of hearts among the nations. On this account His Holiness, being informed by me of the earnestness with which you are promoting the institution of a permanent tribunal for the purpose of deciding international controversies and safeguarding the peoples from the perils of war, cannot but show his satisfaction, and express the wish that God will happily crown your praiseworthy efforts with success."

HARD TIMES.

BY IDA WHIPPLE BENHAM.

I.

The king must have his will; with tithe and tax
And hard conscription, lo, the king is fed,
The army is recruited. Brawn and bread
Are cheap in all the realm, and no man lacks
Save him who sows and him who weaves. As wax
Their will unto the king; like cattle led
Lowing afield or to the butcher's shed,
Thus to the king they bare their bleeding backs.

The hearth is cold; the mother hides her grief
Lest her sick child should see her weep, and die!
Scant is the loaf, and rags are raiment here.
What cares she that a nation hails its chief
With banners and a vast triumphal cry!
Her prince is slain—and all her days are drear.

II.

I saw afar a woman on a plain
Yoked with a heifer; and I cried and said,
"Is life so sweet that thus you wring your bread
Out of the earth's sad bosom?" Then a rain
Of weeping, and she answered me: "In pain
I bore my sons; four sons—and three are dead.
And one still serves; I work here in his stead;
Far from my yearning arms the three were slain.

"I may not cease to work; for he who guides
The plow, my man, must live a little space—
Though marred and crippled fighting for the king;
And one there is who in the cottage bides,
My son's sick child." She turned away her face:
And far afield I heard a sparrow sing.